

## Book Reviews

*Hā'ena: Through the Eyes of the Ancestors.* By Carlos Andrade. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008. xxi + 158 pp. Maps. Bibliography. Illustrated. Photographs. Index. \$30.00 cloth

Listening to tales told by the earth and elders of Hā'ena, Kaua'i, Hawaiian studies professor and geographer Carlos Andrade maps out a storied landscape of tradition, change, and persistence. *Hā'ena: Through the Eyes of the Ancestors* issues an urgent call to Kānaka 'Ōiwi Maoli [indigenous Hawaiians] and all peoples of Hawai'i to remember the mo'olelo [histories, stories, narratives] of the places that we are now a part of. This is especially important as pressures from tourism, in-migration, and escalating real estate prices threaten to reshape the face of the Hawaiian Islands. As Andrade tells us, "[t]he loss of names and their accompanying stories sever Native peoples from their ancestry, history, and identity, and, in this era of globalization, their legitimate claims to their continuing existence as a unique and distinct people" (p. 4). But if we hold on to these mo'olelo, we may just be able to 'ō'ili pulelo ke ahi o Makana (p. ix)—rise in triumph like the firebrands of Makana. Andrade does precisely this as he combines the tools of geography, history, ethnography, and Hawaiian studies in a text that shows indigenous research at its very best: intelligent, accessible, responsible, and relevant. This book will become essential reading for community members, students, and scholars looking at—and with—Native land and peoples.

"Hā'ena, the intense breath of the sun, reverberates through the archipelago, beginning first at the easternmost tip at Hā'ena, Puna, and on to . . . the northern tip of Kaua'i at Hā'ena, Halele'a" (p. xiii). So begins a journey that the respected kumu hula [source of hula] and cultural expert Pualani Kanahale takes us on in her stunning foreword as she invites us to find deeper meanings and broader connections. Andrade, who is an accomplished songwriter and experienced canoe voyager, picks up on this lyrical tone as he describes the elders whose voices populate the text: "Like stars guiding voyaging ancestors through the perils of the sea, these special people show the way and enrich lives with the experiences they share" (p. xviii). Don't let the poetry fool you though—this work has a political edge. "Native ways and per-

ceptions . . . have been and continue to be submerged by increasing numbers of newcomers who now own and inhabit the majority of lands in Hawai'i, greatly outnumbering the aboriginal people" (p. xvi). Thus Andrade "wrote this narrative . . . to preserve for the youth of the Native Hawaiian community a record of the legacy inscribed upon the land" (p. xvi). In so doing, his study aligns with Davianna McGregor's project of documenting cultural histories and kūpuna voices in *Nā Kua'āina: Living Hawaiian Culture* (2007). Andrade also aimed to show how land that was "traditionally held in common by Native people, came to be fragmented into the private property regime found in effect today" (p. xvi). Rather than being a case of sudden and drastic land alienation, the example from Hā'ena reveals a group of ordinary people who accomplished an extraordinary feat of cooperatively owning land well into the middle of the 20th century. Like Robert Stauffer's *Kahana: How the Land Was Lost* (2004), *Hā'ena* forces us to pay careful attention to specific histories of land, law, and people—and their consequences.

The first two chapters delve into indigenous concepts of time and space in Hā'ena. Andrade draws on ancient genealogical chants, translated and untranslated oral traditions, testimonies before the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century land commission, traditional proverbs, modern songs, and oral histories of kūpuna he interviewed. Rich historic and contemporary photographs, art works, and maps allow us to not only look through but also *into* the eyes of the ancestors as we visit the beaches, streams, caves, and stones where their histories have been memorialized. While covering much familiar ground in Hawaiian studies [Kumulipo, Wākea and Papa, Kāne and Kanaloa, Hi'iaka, mo'o beings], Andrade makes a number of original contributions (e.g., a rethinking of the place of Menehune in popular and scholarly imagination on pp.6–10). He also creates a space for the elders to tell their own stories, whether it be Kapeka Chandler's childhood memories of Pele catching the bus to Manini-holo (p. 15) or Thomas Hashimoto's teachings on proper behavior at Kē'ē (p. 18), the famed site of hula instruction that attracted the volcano deity to be with the chief Lohi'au in an epic legend. This weaving of old and new in both text and image continues throughout the book, reinforcing the deep connections between the past and present that abide in the kūpuna and their one hānau [birthsands]. This is especially effective in Chapter 2 as Andrade reveals the meanings and tales behind the specific place names and the broader categories of Hawaiian land terms that anchor identities in place. In many ways, Hā'ena is an ideal ahupua'a—a traditional land division running from mountain to sea and endowed with abundant springs, flowing streams, fertile soil, and rich fisheries. Ahupua'a life, as an ideal, "was distinguished by shared use of land and resources, regulated jointly by *konohiki* [head administrators] and *maka'āinana* [the people living on the land]" (p.30). People

remember John Hanohano Pā and Rachel Mahuiki as modern konohiki and ahupua'a leaders whose intimacy with the bay at Makua and its surrounding families promoted the sustenance and growth of community (pp. 43–51). Neither were they alone in this capacity; the entire last chapter is dedicated to the telling of similar stories of kūpuna [all men] that “continue to be an important source of growth, inspiration, guidance, and wisdom to present-day generations” (p. 123).

While Andrade spends much time celebrating these stories of continuity, he also details the massive transformations that gave his documentary project such a sense of urgency. Chapters 3–5 describe the impact on Hā'ena of land privatization initiated by the 1848 Māhele and the Kuleana Act of 1850. Andrade argues that the traditional place of the konohiki was that of a facilitator and communicator who was expert “at ‘inviting’ both *maka'āinana* and *ali'i* [chiefs] to participate in tasks necessary to preserve order and prosperity within their *ahupua'a*” (p. 76). This, and much more, changed significantly as contracts between “landlords” and “tenants” started to displace kin- and land-based ways of relating. The impacts were of course more than cultural—they were at its very base material. Chapter 4 follows the transfer of title to Hā'ena from its initial granting to the high chief Abner Pākī (father of Bernice Pauahi Bishop), to its parceling out into land commission awards and individual purchases.

Against the threat of permanent alienation from the land, a group of 38 *maka'āinana* formed a cooperative association called the Hui Kū'ai 'Āina o Hā'ena and purchased the majority of the ahupua'a in 1875. Remarkably, they and their heirs held it in common for nearly a hundred years. This group was one of a number of hui formed across the islands in the 19<sup>th</sup> century whose stories “contain examples of strategies aboriginal Hawaiian people adopted to enable living in the time-honored ways of their ancestors while at the same time engaging the more recently arrived market economy and new forms of governance” (p. 103). Yet despite early successes, the hui throughout Hawai'i began to fall “to a legal system whose balance was shifting more and more toward Western ideals of exclusivity” (p. 104). In the case of the Hui Kū'ai 'Āina o Hā'ena, a 1954 lawsuit brought by two wealthy haole men—one an entrepreneur from the continent and the other a descendant of the Rice missionary family—forced the other shareholders to partition their lands, ending at least one aspect (communal ownership) of ahupua'a life that had endured for centuries. “However,” Andrade notes, “the skills of traditional fishermen and farmers, the stories passed down from many generations, and a unique sense of humor and identity rooted and nurtured in the special place that is Hā'ena continue to be manifested” (p. 115).

Following in the footsteps of Hawaiian studies founder and geography pro-

fessor Abraham Pi'ianai'a, Carlos Andrade is leading a new generation of critical Hawaiian geographers including Kali Fermantez, Kapā Oliveira, Renee Louis, Kamana Beamer, and Donovan Preza. Importantly, the relevance of their work goes beyond disciplinary and academic boundaries as the central questions around Hawaiian history and land continue to be reexamined in scholarly and public discourse. Through all of this, it is vital that we do not forget the stories and lessons of the kūpuna who have stood [kū] at the fresh water springs [puna] that give life to the land. Like the mountain peak from which hula graduates would cast firebrands into the night sky (pp. 37–39), *Hā'ena* is truly a Makana—a Gift for the generations.

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*Ben: A Memoir, From Street Kid to Governor.* By Benjamin J. Cayetano. Honolulu: Watermark Publishing, 2009. viii + 560 pp. Illustrated. Index. \$50.00 leather bound; \$19.95 paper

In 1934 progressive historian Carl Becker coined the phrase “Every man his own historian.” He meant that every generation of historians sees the past through a different lens—one shaped by the formative events of his era and of his own life.

Any American historian who has practiced his craft over the past half-century knows the truth of Becker’s words. Historians of the middle decades of 20<sup>th</sup> century studied heroic men (and an occasional woman) who had founded the nation, saved it, fought triumphant wars, defended gallant lost causes, and battled corruption or economic depressions. They wrote about them as well: in their doctoral dissertations, in the books and articles that gained them tenure and promotions, and in the lectures they wrote for delivery to their students.

In the last half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, history changed. Younger scholars saw America’s history in terms of ethnicity, gender, culture, or oppression. Many abandoned national history entirely; only that which transcended boundaries, i.e., global history, mattered.

“Every man his own historian” becomes even more apropos in the political memoir. The ex-politician writes of his role in public events—an arena in which large egos of differing ideologies wrestle with complex societal problems and in which all the players see themselves as heroes.

But the political memoir has only one hero, the ex-officeholder turned author always comes off as insufferably incorruptible and unfailingly right about everything. Thus—barring public sex scandal—few buy political memoirs, and fewer still read beyond chapter one (or the pages dealing with the sexual indiscretion).

True to the form, in *Ben: A Memoir: From Street Kid to Governor*, former governor of Hawai'i Ben Cayetano portrays himself as incorruptible and unfailingly right. But *Ben* transcends the form: first, because people bought it (*Ben* is now in its fourth printing.); second, because a disproportionate number of those who bought it, read it—to their considerable edification; and third, because as “his own historian” Cayetano gives readers a unique perspective on Hawai'i's history in the last half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Cayetano begins in Kalihi, where so many of Hawai'i's working class Democrats began before him. He describes it as a “predominantly blue-collar community” where youngsters of different ethnicities—“Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Hawaiian-Chinese”—“hung out” together (p. 8). “It would have been more accurate to describe us all as ‘local,’” Cayetano writes, “rather than by our ethnicity, for we were born and raised in Hawai'i, spoke pidgin, loved local food and had a greater affinity for the Hawaiian culture than . . . for the ethnic culture of our grandparents' homelands, about which we knew little or nothing” (p. 9).

Cayetano's parents divorced when he was six years old. Father Bonifacio Marcos (Ansing) Cayetano, a busboy at the Outrigger Canoe Club, received custody of their two boys (Benjamin and Kenneth). Mother Eleanor moved to Whitmore Village, remarried, and became the proprietor of a Wahiawā dance club that catered to Filipino bachelors and soldiers from Schofield Barracks.

Two years after his graduation from Farrington High School, Cayetano found himself married, a father, and moving from dead end job to dead end job. One of those jobs was with the State Highway Department, where Cayetano came up against ethnic prejudice; despite ranking first on the required written exam, he was passed over for promotion.

“In those days, Filipino Americans had little political and economic power—and even less community respect,” (p. 45) Cayetano writes. “In the hierarchy of Hawai'i's ethnic groups, Filipinos ranked down at the bottom, a place shared with Samoans and other Pacific Islanders. In my eyes, the way to break down those barriers and change minds—win respect—was through education. A high school diploma was not enough; getting a college degree was the key” (p. 45).

So Lorraine and Ben Cayetano gathered their children, packed their belongings, and moved to Los Angeles. There, while caring for two children, both worked and put Ben through community college, UCLA, and Loyola

Law School. Cayetano writes that he “never experienced any kind of racial discrimination in Los Angeles . . . but I saw it happen to others daily” (p. 79).

He saw it happen enough that after nine years and with a law degree in hand, Cayetano brought his family back to Hawai‘i in 1971; three years later, Cayetano was elected to the State House of Representatives from a leeward O‘ahu district. In 1978, he would move over to the State Senate. During his twelve years in the legislature, Cayetano became one of the darlings of the Honolulu media. He was smart; he was local; and he was candid.

Cayetano has not abandoned that candor in *Ben*. And nowhere is it more in evidence than his chapters on his legislative career. Cayetano offers a raw but realistic portrait of the role of interest groups and personalities play in making state law.

In perhaps the most quoted dozen pages in the book, Cayetano describes the “terrible temper” of former House Speaker Henry Peters. “Legislators who had quick tempers were hardly unique,” writes Cayetano, “none, however, stood over 6 feet tall, weighed 230-plus pounds and were as young and physically strong as Peters” (p. 179). Cayetano accuses Peters of physically threatening fellow legislators, of having punched a fellow Democratic representative in the stomach, and of tearing up the office of yet another.

In 1986, Cayetano moved into the lieutenant governor’s office, a suite of rooms he would occupy for the next eight years. He reflected on this time as “the most frustrating period of my nearly three decades in Hawai‘i’s politics” (p. 254). Aside from running the state’s elections, the lieutenant governor was accountable for nothing.

Still, Cayetano found something to do. As a latchkey kid himself in the 1940s and ‘50s, Cayetano recognized the dilemma of working parents. From the lieutenant governor’s office, Cayetano launched A-Plus, the statewide after-school program that would use Department of Education facilities for more than 30,000 unsupervised elementary school children. In 1989, Cayetano characterized the project as “the most important thing I’ve worked on ever since I got into politics” (p. 298).

In 1994, Cayetano defeated Mayor Frank Fasi and Republican Pat Saiki for the governorship. He spent the ensuing eight years battling economic crises. A recession on the mainland United States coupled with a decline in the Japanese economy left Cayetano to balance budgets in tough economic times.

To do so, he was forced to reject the demands of teachers, professors, and other public workers for generous pay raises, thus alienating some of the bedrock union support of the Democratic Party. Then, just when Hawai‘i seemed have weathered the economic storm, the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 undermined Hawai‘i’s tourist industry for months.

Cayetano’s administration also had to deal with the political dimension of

the Hawaiian renaissance. Turmoil surrounding the Bishop Estate trustees, legal challenges to the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), and a judicial ruling that entitled OHA to 20 percent of the gross revenues from the Hawai'i's 1.2 million acres of ceded lands consumed much of Cayetano's time and attention during his eight years as governor.

And it troubled him, particularly the Hawaiians' "pursuit of sovereignty. . . . The thought of a Hawai'i in which a new government separated Hawai'i's people by race or ethnicity was foreign and unacceptable to me. . . . [it] was like the quest for the Holy Grail—an exercise in futility, an impossible dream. It was time to move on and in the best of interests of all of Hawai'i's people that we do so" (p. 445).

In *Ben: A Memoir; From Street Kid to Governor*, Ben Cayetano is certainly his "own historian," but he also fills two important historical voids: an understanding of the complexity and lack of consensus in the politics of Hawai'i's post-Democratic Revolution, i.e., the years from the mid-1970s to the present, and an overall interpretation of the changing social, political, and economic landscape of Hawai'i since statehood.

Prior to the publication of *Ben*, the post-statehood era belonged to Tom Coffman and his excellent *The Island Edge of America: A Political History of Hawai'i* (2003). However, Coffman is "his own historian" as well, and he offers neither the inside view of the politics nor the reticence about the Hawaiian sovereignty movement that Cayetano provides. *Ben* has proven a best-selling memoir, but it is also a valuable addition to the historical canon of modern Hawai'i.

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*Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i*. Edited by Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008. 318 pages. Notes. Illustrated. Index. \$55.00 cloth; \$25.00 paper

The history of people constituted as either "native" or as "migrants" has usually been studied in isolation from each other. Instead, people so identified have been studied primarily in relationship to those constituted as "Europeans" or, later, as "whites." This may be because "natives" and "migrants" belong largely in the ranks of the dispossessed, displaced, and devalued.

Since much historical work has focused on the powerful, the relationship between two marginalized groups has not been of interest. Of course, the fact that the categories of “native” or “migrant” were created by colonial states to legally distinguish between—and divide—people may also have something to do with why the study of each remained separate.

Fortunately, with the emergence of social history three or so decades ago, a small but growing body of research now exists which show how the categories of “native” and “migrants” were constructed and how people within these categories were brought together through the process of empire and later nation-building projects. Their social, economic, and political connections, their conflicts as well as their solidarities, are the topic of some of the most interesting of recent historical research.

Those looking to *Asian Settler Colonialism* to make a contribution to this burgeoning body of work will be disappointed. Far from illuminating the relationship between people constituted as “indigenous” and those constituted as “Asian migrants” on the Hawaiian archipelago, this collection of essays constructs a simplistic Manichean relationship between people in these two colonial state categories. Far from telling us about their relationship to one another in carefully detailed studies, the shared history of people constituted as “indigenous” or “Asian” is reduced to a simple binary; *Asian Settler Colonialism* claims that Asians colonized (and by their presence continue to colonize) Native Hawaiians.

For students of colonialism, the claim that Asians colonized Hawai‘i is absurd. The colonization of Hawai‘i was not a Chinese, Japanese, Korean, or Filipino project. Nor did the vast majority of “Asian” migrants enjoy privileged relationships to the institutions of colonialism, as did those who were racialized as “Whites” throughout various British and U.S. settler colonial projects. Instead, the colonial state legally and socially distinguished “natives” from “Asians” and both of these groupings from White settler colonists. Moreover, even though U.S. colonization, occupation, and, later, statehood are the main foci of *Asian Settler Colonialism*, its contributors insist that there was/is something peculiarly “Asian” about this U.S. project in Hawai‘i.

The ahistorical claim that “Asians” colonized Hawai‘i (especially *after* U.S. statehood) relies not on historical analysis but on neo-racist assumptions about the proper relationship between “race” and space. Neo-racist thought, rooted in the basic assumption that ethnic boundaries are “natural” borders, posits that “different” people should be in “their own” places. Significantly, in such a worldview, human migration becomes, *by definition*, an act of colonization.

In conflating migration with colonialism, contributors to this collection try to redefine the dialectics of colonialism. Colonialism is no longer a dynamic



of expropriation and exploitation where the key relationship is one between expropriators and the expropriated. Instead, colonialism becomes nothing more and nothing less than the co-presence of people who are “Native” and “non-Native.” As many of the contributors to *Asian Settler Colonialism* claim, it is when people move away from their “ancestral homelands,” that colonial relationships take hold. The anti-colonial project, therefore, comes to be about reclaiming “Native” place for “Native” people. This is an utter disavowal of the very much changed world that European colonialism engendered—changes that brought various people together into a shared field of power—changes that cannot be undone, at least not without an enormous amount of state-directed violence. While not directly calling for the repatriation of all “non-Natives” as has been done elsewhere (recall Idi Amin’s 1972 expulsion of “Asians” from Uganda on the basis of their non-Nativeness), contributions to *Asian Settler Colonialism* consistently insist that “Asians” “stand behind” “Natives,” (e.g., Kosasa, p. 79).

This has both a political and literal meaning. “Asians” are exhorted to support a Hawaiian nationalist political project for sovereignty and are admonished for any attempt to intervene in the debates on Hawaiian sovereignty. “Asians” should “stand behind” Hawaiian sovereignty leaders, it is declared, for the simple reason that “Asians” are not “native” to Hawai‘i and as such have no legitimate claim for political participation. In the logics of neo-racism, the only legitimate claims of “Asians” are within Asia itself (which apparently “Asians” retain although they do not live, work or, in many cases, have any connections to “Asia”). Likewise, it is presumed, Native Hawaiians have no legitimate claims outside of Hawai‘i. Such claims of national property and propriety make sense to the contributors to *Asian Settler Colonialism*, because their arguments are based on the presumption of a primordial relationship between people and land (the well-worn equation of “blood” and “soil”). This is why any critiques of nationalism are, for them, also acts of *colonialism*. Any and all anti-nationalist arguments are dismissed so that the “native” nationalist project can be claimed as the *only* project for decolonization.

While this book is far from a serious contribution to the historical understanding of the relationships between “native” and “Asian” groups in Hawai‘i or of the dynamics of colonialism in the archipelago, the *political work* that this book does is part of a growing neo-racist demonization and criminalization of migration. Now, “migrants” are not only the quintessential scapegoats for the unemployment and insecurity of national subjects, they are also colonizers. By not rejecting the world of the colonizers and being content, instead, with merely flipping that world upside down so that “natives” rule, *Asian Settler Colonialism* fails to advance attempts at decolonization. Instead, it simply advances a “native” nationalist project with no recognition of the historical

limitations of such projects and their failure to realize the goals of justice and peace.

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*Encyclopedia of Islands.* Edited by Rosemary G. Gillespie and David A. Clague. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009. xxxii + 1074 pp. Maps. Tables. Illustrated. Glossary. Bibliographies. Index. \$95.00 cloth

An “isolated piece of habitat that is surrounded by dramatically different habitat, such as water” (p. xxxi), an island, is the starting point of this great (in size and scope) book that aims to view islands in all parts of the world. Islands included in this volume are ecosystems surrounded by water, whale falls (whale bodies on the ocean floors), mountaintops, and lakes (focusing on cichlid speciation in the African Great Lakes). The importance of islands as laboratories to observe biological speciation, human impact, the effect of invasive species on endemic populations, geological events, and human migration is a recurrent theme to which each article ultimately contributes.

Editor Rosemary Gillespie is Chair of Systematics at the University of California, Berkeley, with an entomological focus as a researcher; she is also a research associate with the Bishop Museum in Honolulu. Before joining the faculty at Berkeley, Gillespie was a member of the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Zoology faculty. Co-editor David Clague is Senior Scientist at the Monterey Bay Aquarium Research Institute specializing in volcanology with an emphasis on the volcanoes of Hawaiian Islands. The research and professional experience of the editors serve to illustrate the laboratory nature of islands for researchers located on *mainlands*. The editors have drawn together several hundred authors from an international pool of researchers who not only have expertise in the areas about which they write but are also able to give even-handed descriptions of currently held tenets, noting controversies when appropriate. Written for “the interested general public,” (p. xxix) the articles, though splendidly illustrated with images drawn from specialized research literature, read as chapters to a longer narrative. The editors have done a superb job in developing a sense of continuity between the entries.

In the sense of the word *encyclopedia* defined as an “elaborate and exhaustive repertory of information on all the branches of some particular art or

department of knowledge; esp. one arranged in alphabetical order.”<sup>1</sup> This compendium of the state of knowledge in ecological, anthropological, archaeological, and geological studies about islands on this planet offers short reviews of the scholarly literature. The articles include photographs, drawings, data tables, and data visualizations that not only provide meaningful additional information but also serve to make this book richly aesthetically appealing. The A to Z organization of the essays provides a systematic organization for a wide range of island topics, from adaptive radiation by Gillespie to the *Kon-Tiki* voyage by Suggs (p. 515), to a review of islands in popular culture by Resh and Resh (p. 761), to a profile of Zanzibar, an archipelago that is part of the Republic of Tanzania by Burgess and Burgess (p. 982). The sum of the articles is truly a circle of learning in which each essay contributes different research threads to the whole. This holistic approach, drawing from scientific, sociological, and humanistic research is unusual and gives insight into what we lose by our current divisions of disciplines and specialization in academia. Cross-references to other articles within the volume and short bibliographies of suggested further readings follow each entry. In addition to the alphabetized entries, an index provides more entry points to articles of interest. A subject classification with eleven broad categories under which 236 articles on varying topics are assigned, follows the table of contents. This organization strategy is an aid to readers wishing to review the entries gathered under an area of inquiry, such as “Ecology and Evolution,” “Biogeography, Human Impact,” or “History and Pre-History” (under which “Missionaries, Effects of” can be found). One curious entry is “Important Islands,” which has a sense of subjective selection, as the criteria that constitute an *important island* are not provided.

Pursuing a line of inquiry regarding the Hawaiian Islands, one finds articles on the biology of the Hawaiian Islands by Price (p. 397), the geology of the Hawaiian Islands by Sherrod (p. 404), the Hawaiian honeycreepers by Fleischer (p. 410), Hawaiian cricket genera by Otte and Cowper (p. 208), bird disease in endemic species by Duffy (p. 103), Oceanic islands by Nunn (p. 689), Polynesian voyaging by Anderson (p. 758), peopling the Pacific by Kirch (p. 720), Pacific region by Koppers (p. 702) and many more. The reader will find in these articles the research narratives that will enable them to weave together threads from biological, earth science, anthropological, and archaeological studies creating new insights and understanding of our complex world.

Though much of the content will be of interest to those engaged in research, whether informally or professionally, concerning islands of Oceania, the islands of the Northern Atlantic and the Polar Regions are also represented, and as noted earlier in other geographic areas that conform to island

descriptions. The broad scope sketches in the shared generalizations that serve as background in all research on island habitats.

This encyclopedia would serve as an excellent text for an interdisciplinary academic course examining evolutionary systematics, human impact on the ecosystem, species extinction, and migrations of species. The content and organization are also a fine start to a web-based database of scholarly literature and data about island biogeography.

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#### NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Oxford English Dictionary. "Encyclopedia, Encyclopaedia, n.3" 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1989. OED Online. Oxford University Press. 23 March 2010. Entry 50074848.

*The Healthy Ancestor: Embodied Inequality and the Revitalization of Native Hawaiian Health.* By Juliet McMullin. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2010. Bibliography. References. Index. \$79.00 cloth

Juliet McMullin offers a powerfully written book that speaks critically to the ways in which dominant discourses and rhetoric about Native Hawaiian health fail to adequately explain why Hawaiians experience the highest rates of disease in Hawai'i. Using health as a marker for cultural identity, McMullin identifies the shortcomings of the Western biomedicine framework to fully explain Hawaiian health or to offer effective and culturally appropriate solutions for proper care. Pointing to the way in which the historical and political economies of lands, culture, and sovereignty are ignored in this context, she illuminates how the use of a U.S. middle class framework acts to the detriment of Hawaiians, their culture, and their health.

McMullin identifies at least two major pitfalls. First, she argues that practices and discourses in biomedicine ultimately shift the burden of poor health from structural barriers and political histories entirely to the individual or group; in this case, Hawaiians. Second, she illuminates how biomedicine produces and reproduces representations of Hawaiian health through questions that focus on the behavioral deficiencies of Hawaiians. In this way, the historical and political economy of Hawaiian health is individualized in terms of

making good nutritional choices, exercising, getting proper rest, and following medical recommendations. Situating Hawaiians as naturally unhealthy for reasons such as these leads to contextualizing the Hawaiian body (political and individual) in terms of pathology, at-riskness, non-compliance, and self-destruction. The consequences of this framing are interventions to rehabilitate, discipline, and control Hawaiians through individualized Western medical programs. When these poorly informed interventions fail, this ultimately leads to assumptions that the unhealthy Hawaiian body is unfit for production in the capitalist market, and more importantly, for participation in the citizenry.

Using the Healthy Ancestor as a metaphor and symbol of Hawaiian health, McMullin calls for a critical examination of the socio-economic, historical, and political dialogues that contribute to and enable poor health. Taking the medical gaze off the so-called behavioral defects of Native Hawaiians, she shifts the burden of poor health from individual to social structure, including colonialism. Rather than asking why Hawaiians do not comply with biomedicine, McMullin asks how control is central to these medical practices. For example, she challenges the power to define “what is good for restoring and maintaining health and their use of technologies” (p. 89), including the “structuring of questions that rely on implicit Western standards of measurement (such as ‘failure’ or ‘non-compliance’)” (p. 75). *The Healthy Ancestor* brings us to a place where we not only challenge the ability of Western biomedical politics to provide healthy pathways, but also acknowledge that our kūpuna hold proper guidance and useful prescriptions needed for health. McMullin’s work opens greater possibilities to counter dominant discourses by asking questions such as, *how does the medicalization of Hawaiians obscure the socioeconomic barriers to proper medical care? In what ways does the defining of Hawaiians as an at-risk population prevent us from examining the failure of Western biomedicine? How does labeling Hawaiians as unhealthy erase their strengths and the efficacy of their traditional methods of healing? How does the medical gaze work in tandem with colonialism and neo-colonialism?*

The recognition of biomedicine’s limitations, and more specifically, that Western frameworks disregard the interconnectedness of Hawaiian health with politics and culture, makes McMullin’s work a valuable contribution to multiple fields, including critical medical anthropology, indigenous studies, medicine, and public health. Her work also crosses over to less obvious fields such as public policy, education, political science, and criminology. By discussing how medical technologies and discourses produce representations of Hawaiians as sick and/or non-compliant, McMullin explains the evolution of perceptions of the medical gaze on Hawaiians. Her use of Foucauldian theory to explain this phenomenon opens the dialogue for scholars and practitio-

ners to examine how this occurs in other sectors of society, such as in prisons, hospitals, and schools.

Along these lines, it is not entirely clear whether the goal for a healthy Hawaiian body is to participate in capitalist consumption. It is likely that this is not McMullin's intent. However, this leaves room for others to investigate what the end goals might be for Hawaiian health, whether participation in a capitalist economy is healthy, and how the application of indigenous theories might alter some of the conclusions drawn from a Foucauldian approach. What is clear is that McMullin's work is insightful, engaging, and well-researched. She has certainly made the case that for Hawaiians, one size does not fit all.

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*Alexander Cartwright: The Life Behind the Baseball Legend.* By Monica Nucciarone. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009. xxxiv + 267 pp. Illustrated. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$27.95 cloth

Baseball, like nations, possesses myths centered on colorful figures, incredible plays on the field, and humbling exploits off of it. Essential to the development of the sport, these legends endure because people latch on to them as bellwethers of their identity. One of the national pastime's most durable legends is the "origins" narrative, in which Abner Doubleday supposedly oversaw the first baseball game in the idyllic hamlet of Cooperstown, in upstate New York, one sunny day in 1839. That is pure hokum, but so powerful was this story that the town is now home to the Baseball Hall of Fame, where teams compete on Doubleday Field. Following closely on the heels of this myth is the idea that Alexander Joy Cartwright, the subject of this engaging book by Monica Nucciarone, invented the modern game by establishing its rules. We even have an exact date for his innovation: June 19, 1846, when the first formalized baseball game was played in Hoboken. Was Cartwright the founder of the national pastime? Sort of, along with dozens of other sporting types. Did he expand the game to Hawai'i, his eventual permanent residence? Perhaps, but he was not alone. What Nucciarone has proven in this (at long last) full, mature biography is that Cartwright should be known more for his business and political ties to Hawai'i than for his links to baseball.

In Nucciarone's judicious presentation, Cartwright has been given too much credit for his baseball exploits. We know he was a member of the Knickerbocker Base Ball Club and one of the first to lay down some rules to govern play. But the specifics of his inventions, such as establishing the number of innings or players on the team, or even being the apostle of baseball's westward spread (all claims made on Cartwright's Hall of Fame plaque that the eminent baseball scholar, John Thorn, cites in an excellent foreword to the book), are sheer fairy tales. Cartwright was the beneficiary of excellent marketing (namely by his grandson) and the propensity of Americans to propagate myths that fit snugly into our presumed national heritage. Nucciarone simply chips away at the legend, much like a prosecutor against the defense. She convincingly shows that the numerous memorials, biographies, and interviews about Cartwright were largely based on unverifiable facts that themselves were based more on the projection of his image (and baseball's) rather than on reality. At heart, she puts solid research to work by drawing on the *lack* of archival evidence, rather than reliance on hearsay, to prove that for Cartwright, baseball "played a much smaller role throughout his life than most realize, and many times, there is controversy over the exact nature of what he did or did not do" (p. xxix). She has scoured every conceivable source and considered each reference to the man; the verdict is soundly on the side of the prosecution.

Although her intention is to inject a dose of reality into the story, it is unfortunate that Nucciarone's cardinal concern is with baseball because Cartwright led an interesting life in Hawai'i. Through assiduous research particularly in various archival resources in Hawai'i, she has uncovered what is a more substantial career as an agent, merchant, and club member who enjoyed the company of the most recognizable names in the islands' business and royal communities, such as lawyer and politician Sanford B. Dole and the future Queen Lili'uokalani. Cartwright might not have been instrumental in the Hawai'i annexation movement (in fact, his true influence remains fuzzy in her account), but he was certainly there as an observer, facilitator of empire, and financial advisor to the monarchy.

The author might have devoted less space to long quotes from letters about his affairs, family matters, and the like, but in doing so, she illustrates what a quite ordinary businessman Cartwright was. The style of presenting page-length citations is tedious, and worse, it detracts from the intended richness of his everyday toils and relations. Scholars will also not find much new in this account of Hawaiian life, imperialism, missionaries, the Bayonet Constitution and internal politics, economic exchanges, or race relations; this is pretty standard fare written for an educated baseball audience. Thus, it is frustrating when the author discusses the white businessmen's "two-faced

behavior" (p. 122), in which they professed friendship toward the islanders while trying to undermine the monarchy. Delving into the colonial relationship by deepening our understanding of how transnational figures shaped Hawai'i's destiny might have been fruitful. And discerning Cartwright's actual role in the tumultuous years from roughly 1887 to the early 1890s when Queen Lili'uokalani ascended the throne is difficult without embedding the story in, say, a comparative look at empire (and all its economic and racial elements) in the Anglo-American global realms. Cartwright largely disappears from the Hawai'i narrative, but was this a natural development for a transnational figure like him who put revolution in motion? We do not know; Cartwright seems less a player in these exciting events than a somewhat detached messenger.

Nonetheless, Nucciarone effectively demonstrates that Cartwright enjoyed a successful career in Hawai'i, even if his life was by no means remarkable for its accomplishments. In other words, without baseball—and surely, without propaganda created by self-interested relatives, abetted by Major League accomplices and biographers, and bought by a gullible public—we would not care much at all about Alexander Cartwright!

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*Island World: A History of Hawai'i and the United States.* By Gary Y. Okihiro. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Illustrated. Index. \$27.50 cloth

Two things stand out about Hawai'i's history as written by historians. The center of the story is usually about things Hawaiian. North American influences upon island history tend to be one-way affairs. Gary Okihiro's *Island World* is different. This is a book about *connections* between Hawai'i and the U.S. where Hawaiians and Hawaiian-spawned institutions are central actors in larger events. Okihiro has been writing for some time about how the margins of history affect mainstream viewpoints (*Margins and Mainstreams*, 1994), where core values and ideas of national culture often arise from the margins of the nation. *Island World*, the first of a trilogy of books related to Hawai'i, applies this idea to island and American history. The main point, he says, is that "Hawai'i is the center that, in its circuits, stirs and animates the United States" (p. 2).



This is not a linear history. Nor does it make its argument through a marshalling of overwhelming evidence. Rather, Okihiro presents a sequence of intriguing essays that cover territory ranging from Pele and the Kilauea volcano, missionary schools, Native Hawaiian travelers from ministers to whalers, surfing, and music. It illustrates how landscapes, cultural creations, and indigenous citizens quietly place their mark upon aspects of North American culture and institutions in ways hidden to observers. As Okihiro notes in his conclusion, we rarely question our supposition that continents are more important than islands. From this flows a myriad of assumptions that create hierarchies of importance in human history. Each chapter in this interesting book chips away at such established ideas.

The first two chapters ("Regions of Fire" and "Oceania's Expanse") explore what Hawaiians and North Americans have made of the elemental features of island landscapes—the fire of erupting volcanoes and the watered expanse of Oceania. This contrast highlights Hawaiian use and meaning-making of fire and water which shaped their cultural and physical world, with that of visiting and settling Americans who brought temperate ideas of empire to make sense of the tropical island world. The middle three chapters—on Hawaiians in New England's religious communities ("Pagan Priest"), Hawaiian-born settlers and their Hawaiian-developed schools in the U.S. South ("Schooling for Subservience"), and Native Hawaiian travelers and settlers in the U.S. West ("Hawaiian Diaspora")—comprise the most interesting discussion of Hawai'i-U.S. connections. Here we are treated to several discussions of one of the underlying themes of this book—that of race. This is not a new topic for Hawai'i history. In Okihiro's hands, however, we are introduced to ways that North Americans who encounter and work with Hawaiians forge and clarify their pre-conceptions of racial difference, build institutions that perpetuate racial thinking (missionary projects, industrial education) and apply them in policy. His recounting of the lives of Hawaiians in U.S. settings also challenges standard views of Hawaiian ambition and definitions of race. Race can be understood in bodily form, as an ideology, and as a tool for negotiating power—all of these forms are explored. The final substantive essay explores the complicated evolution of Hawaiian music. An intriguing chapter, "Poetry in Motion" goes furthest in Okihiro's effort to dissolve boundaries (cultural and geographical) and hints at the larger project of the trilogy. It is as much a statement about how culture evolves as it is about Hawaiian innovation. Instruments, rhythms, and song weave in, out, and through the islands—sometimes lingering only briefly. What emerges in the 20<sup>th</sup> century as Hawaiian music is at once different from the early chant and yet, somehow, the same. This mirrors the ways that indigenous cultures successfully claim political and cultural space in a world of multiple influences and powers.

Some scholars may quibble with Okihiro's emphasis on Hawaiians and Hawai'i as central characters in the sacred legends of the Civil War, U.S. mass education, and expansion of the American West. Indeed, some claims seem over-emphasized if one uses numbers of Hawaiians as indicators of influence. And some of his examples are more persuasive than others. But this is not the point of his enterprise. Instead, it is about turning history around to look at the world through the opposite end of one's binoculars to find interesting and powerful insights. As an educative device, Okihiro's framework lends itself to doing history differently. This is a recent theme in the scholarship of the environment (beginning with Richard Grove's *Green Imperialism*, 1995) as well as in other fields. But, Okihiro's explicit project, which will span three volumes (*Pineapple Culture*, 2009, and the third currently in draft) explores untreated topics. It comes from a writer raised in Hawai'i's mid-twentieth century schools where Hawaiian and Asian-American children were not encouraged to "script their past" (p. 4) and claim an alternate knowledge. As a native of Hawai'i's plantation life, Okihiro brings to the U.S.-Hawai'i encounter the same type of upended history that comes from the scholarship of Native Hawaiians. Old interpretations do not suffice. New ones come from the many that see it differently. As a result, history benefits, as do the children in today's classrooms.

The essays in this readable book prompt reflection and can be read individually. One may walk away from any one of Okihiro's chapters with a heretofore unrealized appreciation of the influence of human action from the margins of the globe, and, for that matter, the distorting power of restrictive histories built with artificial borders, which limit our knowledge of how things really were.

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*A Japanese Robinson Crusoe*. By Jenichiro Oyabe. Edited by Greg Robinson and Yujin Yaguchi. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009. v + 185 pp. Notes. \$28.00 paper.

*A Japanese Robinson Crusoe* by Jenichiro Oyabe is a remarkable story of a Japanese traveler and his adventures during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century throughout Asia and the Pacific including China, Hawai'i, Okinawa, and the Kurile Islands. Notably, Oyabe spent many years in the United States and traveled throughout Europe before returning to Japan to work as a teacher and Christian

minister. His memoir details his transformation from a Meiji gentleman to a “Japanese Yankee,” fusing classic American narratives of the self-made man with migrant assimilation. This recently released edition, which was first published in 1898 and has long been out of print, includes a new introduction by scholars Greg Robinson of the Université du Québec à Montréal and Yujin Yaguchi of the University of Tokyo who examine Oyabe’s story and situate the text within both American and modern Japanese history.

Although Oyabe considers himself to be Robinson Crusoe, an English castaway who spent 28 years on a remote tropical island before being rescued, unlike Crusoe, he is a man who consciously chooses his destination, searching for spiritual redemption. As he travels to America seeking enlightenment, western middle class values, Christianity, and American culture become inextricably linked. The narrative and organization of Oyabe’s memoir reflects his personal transformation as the first half details his childhood in Japan and his experiences living among the “uncivilized yet goodhearted” Ainu in the northern island of Hokkaido (p. 52). After a harrowing crossing, Oyabe finally arrives in New York where he meets General Samuel Armstrong, founder of Hampton Institute, and is subsequently educated at Hampton Institute and Howard and Yale universities before embarking on missionary work in the Hawaiian Islands. Oyabe skillfully contrasts the primitiveness of Asia and its people with the sophisticated urban settings of America and Europe, which parallel his own spiritual and personal development.

Throughout the text, Oyabe emphasizes his remarkable adaptability and talent for assimilation, eventually embracing conventional Victorian standards as he became increasingly influenced by the bigoted nature of “civilization.” His initial openness and embrace of Asian cultures is soon replaced by notions of white racial superiority. Understandings about race also contribute to his lack of acknowledgement of African Americans in his account, despite attending two historically black colleges, and the complete exclusion of Native Americans and other minorities. Nineteenth century notions of race also likely influence his desire to “help” and “civilize” the “primitive” Ainu through the education that his white teachers and friends in the United States provide. Robinson and Yaguchi correctly highlight how Oyabe’s memoir is a product of the author’s intense desire to identify with the dominant white group, to experience “whiteness” by disdaining or excluding minorities. It is clearly a self-conscious work that is keenly aware of its audience, and Oyabe’s complicity in voluntarily assimilating into mainstream white culture precedes modern understandings of Asian migrants as the “model minority”; people of color who accept the subordinate social role allotted to them, do not openly challenge the racial status quo, and struggle quietly to better themselves through hard work and education.

Throughout Oyabe's narrative, however, there is tantalizing evidence that this process of assimilation was never as successful as even Oyabe believed. Despite claiming to be completely converted to "Americanism," Oyabe's later life admittedly forms an "odd counterpoint" to his narrative, as subsequent writings and activities become increasingly nationalistic (p. 123). Despite his praise for America and his description of himself as a "Yankee," Oyabe never returned to the United States once he moved back to Japan. Possibly, his writings and his life were not only influenced by the transformation of the United States from continental to a worldwide empire, with victories achieved in the Spanish-American War in 1898, but also by Japan's emergence on the world scene during the Meiji Restoration. In America, Oyabe often lectured on Buddhism and Japanese culture, Japanese foreign policy, and the Sino-Japanese war wearing Japanese attire and presenting himself as Japanese. He mentions his "Oriental mind" and influence of "Eastern custom" (p. 126) in his memoir and revealingly dedicates his autobiography to his parents, whom he describes as his "first and best teachers." (p. 33) Oyabe's ideas can be also viewed as distinctly Japanese with regard to notions of racial superiority, particularly in regards to the Ainu who had endured centuries of racial discrimination. Further, his assertion of women's inferiority and his opposition to women's education could have been informed not just by Victorian ideals of womanhood, but also by the Meiji notion of *ryōsai kenbo* ("good wife, wise mother").

It might be more accurate to describe Oyabe's life and his memoir as a product of his transnational identity and experiences as, despite his best efforts, he was never able to discard fully his Japanese heritage. Possibly Oyabe was wrestling with a dilemma that his contemporary W.E.B. Du Bois in 1897 described in his collection of essays, *The Souls of Black Folk*, as a "double consciousness"—of a multifaceted identity that defies clear description. Oyabe's unresolved reconciliation with his experiences with the American way of life in contrast to his Japanese upbringing and morals give this narrative a contemporary feel. Within this memoir, themes of identity, race, religion, gender, and politics are not just important in understanding the 19th century world that Oyabe inhabited, but reverberate in the current multicultural world that he struggled to grasp.

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*A Tragedy of Democracy: Japanese Confinement in North America.* By Greg Robinson. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009. Notes. Index. \$29.95 cloth

In *A Tragedy of Democracy*, Greg Robinson, an associate professor of history at l'Université du Québec á Montréal, has admirably accomplished his goals of (1) recording the experience of Japanese Americans in a "clear and digestible" fashion; (2) placing this nexus of events in the context of both the pre- and post-war developments; and (3) discussing the mainland U.S. experience as part of a larger pattern of governmental responses in Hawai'i, Canada, Mexico, and other parts of Latin America (pp. 4–6). This volume is remarkable not only for its breadth and scope, but for the detailed—yet consistently readable—account Robinson provides for each aspect of the World War II internment of persons of Japanese descent.

Particularly impressive is his ability to present this history from a variety of viewpoints, giving us a variegated and multilayered understanding of the motivations, responses, points of contention, and retrospective analyses of the participants. One result of this approach, and Robinson's incorporation of additional archival material, is that new dimensions emerge from subjects previously addressed in the literature.

Thus, for example, the failure to intern en masse those of Japanese descent in Hawai'i has often been noted by way of contrast with mainland U.S. policies, but the broader implications of the imposition of martial law in Hawai'i, thoroughly addressed by Robinson, are rarely incorporated into such discussions. His analysis of internment-related legal cases is similarly instructive. Rather than focusing exclusively on the four primary cases (*Hirabayashi*, *Yasui*, *Korematsu* and *Endo*), Robinson uses *Duncan v. Kahanamoku*, a challenge to the use of military tribunals in Hawai'i, to illustrate how the government relied upon the stigmatization of persons of Japanese ancestry to justify extending military rule to the entire civilian population in Hawai'i.

In discussions of the internment of Japanese Americans, the Canadian experience is often referenced only in passing, and then in terms that imply that the Canadian government was simply following the lead of U.S. officials. Robinson, by contrast, provides us with a detailed explanation of the differences. His narrative addresses the perspectives of Japanese Canadians, some of whom were interned and others forcibly relocated but left to survive on their own, as well as the critical decisions made by Canadian officials. Again, it illustrated both the larger institutional pressures behind such measures and the impact of individual actions and motivations.

The painstakingly accurate work reflected in this volume and the accessible style in which it is presented highlight for me the contradictions between

the history Robinson documents and the overarching faith in American liberal democracy he professes throughout. This matter is illustrated by his characterization of the United States government during World War II as “devoted to humanitarian aims” and struggling for “world freedom” (pp. 1–2).

To name is to define, to assign meaning and value, to designate relationship, and thus to situate that which is named within a particular understanding of the world. As such, it carries with it the power to change—or to reinforce—the ordering of our realities. Calling something by its right name does not usually change its nature, but it is often key to its clarification and transformation. Thus, it is noteworthy that Robinson—quite accurately—describes the German and Japanese governments of the era as “tyrannical regimes,” but characterizes the chattel slavery sanctioned by the U.S. government as “the historic degradation of African Americans” and the genocidal forced marches of the Cherokees as merely “removal” (p. 1).

Cognitive dissonance was the phrase that came to mind when confronted with the contradictions between the actions deliberately taken by U.S. military and governmental officials to incarcerate persons of Japanese descent en masse, thoroughly documented in this book, and Robinson’s choice of terminology regarding the internment. Beginning with his title, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, the implications of the history presented are carefully circumscribed by the presumption that the United States is a functional democracy, and that these events were “tragic,” a term often associated with natural disasters or accidental deaths. The dissonance I experienced was exacerbated rather than alleviated by Robinson’s explanation of why he decided not to say that Japanese Americans were forced into in concentration camps—as they were accurately described by President Roosevelt and numerous other U.S. officials (p. viii)—or even interned, but simply “confined,” albeit “involuntarily,” in “camps” (pp. vii–viii).

Robinson does observe that notwithstanding popular pressure for “removal,” “the enabling force behind mass exclusion throughout the Americas was the U.S. government and its agencies” (p. 152). Nonetheless, despite detailed explanations of the decision making processes that resulted in the incarceration of nearly 120,000 American citizens and permanent residents of Japanese descent—complete with insight into the debates over policies, the tensions between the military and the state department, the influence of overtly racist propaganda, and the personal qualms of government lawyers—the personal agency of these actors is consistently minimized.

For example, Robinson carefully reconstructs the process by which Executive Order 9066 authorizing the evacuation and internment was signed, and observes that even as the war was drawing to a close in 1944, President Franklin Roosevelt “vetoed” the release of incarcerated Japanese Americans “until

after the November election" (p. 251). Nonetheless, Roosevelt is described as "a great humanitarian and liberal" who "*failed to notice* the biased and self-interested nature of the call for removal, or considered it more prudent to remove the targets of bias than to defend them from it" (p. 304, emphasis added). Similarly, Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black, who "justif[ied] mass removal on racial grounds" is nonetheless "a civil libertarian and defender of freedom" (p. 381).

Perhaps as a result of this tension, irony emerges as a major theme of the book. "[W]hat is particularly noteworthy about the confinement of the Issei and Nisei is its fundamentally ironic character," i.e., "an arbitrary and anti-democratic measure" effected by "a government devoted to humanitarian aims . . . as part of a war [waged] for the survival of world freedom" (pp. 1–2, footnote omitted). "Ironically," provisions of the Geneva Conventions "were applied more strictly" to enemy aliens than to U.S. citizens (p. 201). In the cases brought by internment resisters Gordon Hirabayashi and Fred Korematsu, the U.S. Army "ironically" argued that military orders were enforceable through civilian courts, "the very position" military officials "had challenged" with respect to martial law in Hawai'i (p. 360, note 16). "Ironical" is an extraordinarily passive way to describe official actions which directly contradict stated beliefs or policies.

Robinson concludes with his "strong feeling" that "these measures demonstrate the importance of maintaining constitutional safeguards, even—especially—in wartime" (p. 304). Yet if we use language that masks reality and fails to assign responsibility, how are such safeguards to be established, much less maintained? Had Robinson simply presented us with the history, and allowed us to draw our own conclusions, the book would stand squarely on its merits as an invaluable resource. From my perspective, the conveying of these stories within a broader narrative that minimizes agency and responsibility undermines its utility and reinforces an already-pervasive collective denial about many harsh realities of American history.

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